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a. BURIAL IN A MOUND AT BORCHER'S BEACH
(From Wisconsin Archeologist)

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b. CONICAL MOUND, CUTLER PARK, WAUKESHA, WIS.

[Facing p. 91 (A)]

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CHAPTER V

BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, *b*).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections: 1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 64] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the casket. 764

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. [765]

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed. 765

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you. 765 539 775

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They [2] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or exaggerates while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

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765 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks,
539 grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will
now boil some food for you."

775 Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 ## Generalized Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 614] Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*hitcakdre*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some clansman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 776 782

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. 431 276 775

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, *kɔ'ɔu*. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the 775 431 525 524

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

● 764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the [775 539] road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band and he comes and addresses the body as follows:

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whenever you see him, the following request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-spirits. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son."

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake.

Address to the spirit.[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become like a spirit. You have made those of your relatives who remained behind on earth miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the *surrendul* surpaths which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of those on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road.

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the clansmen that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Thus you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is *wanp'ixi*, spirit, deity, not *waxpixi'*, ghost, noncorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys consciousness, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

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765 Then all the other people answer ha-ho-o-o-o. Now someone lights
184 a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All
614 take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water
715 is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunderbirds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[1]

764 184 614 [763] Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan. To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[1] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lowie and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 15, no. 3, 1913.

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One of Mr. F.'s most important duties was to invite the warriors to extend invitations to all those who wish to participate in the feast. After the body has been buried the overseer goes to the home of the deceased and takes away all those things with which the deceased had been in daily contact. 764 184 64

In addition to F., another man was sent for, Mr. A. W., also a member of the Bear clan. He went through the Bear clan ceremony, which was as follows: When the deceased was fully dressed, just before he was to be laid in the casket, A. W. walked up to him and, taking some paint from a little bundle he carried, he painted a red mark across his forehead, then a black one immediately below this one, and finally daubed the whole chin red. When he was through with this preliminary work he addressed those present as follows:

[539] You relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. This ceremony is not anything that we have originated ourselves, but it was known to be the proper thing to do by our ancestors. It is for that reason that I have made the markings upon the face of my son in order that he may be recognized by his relatives in spirit land, and I have also given him the material with which he may talk, i. e., tobacco, that with it he may entreat the spirits to bestow all those years that he fell short of upon his relatives still living.

Now, it is said that the members of the Bear clan hold death as a blessing and not as anything to mourn about. I do not mean that I do not feel sorry for the children of the deceased and that I rejoice in his death, but it is the belief of the members of the Bear clan that the same happiness comes to them at death that comes to us during life when a bear is killed and brought to the village for food.

For now, indeed, my son will walk in a road that has been cleared of all obstacles and his claws will be sharp, and his teeth will be sharp, and nothing, indeed, will cross his path. And in this, his walk to the spirit land, may he tread down upon us the life that he has fallen short of on this earth. And he will walk just as the original Bear clan-men walked when they originated and when they approached the earth. And now I will sing him the songs that they sang as they came on earth, so that he may take them along with him on his journey to the spirit land. It is said that there is no other place besides this prepared for us in the hereafter.

Then he sang the four clan songs.

When the songs had been sung, it was just about noon and, as dinner was ready, we all sat down and A. W. filled a pipe and when he was ready to smoke it began to speak again to the following effect:

[539] Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come here, and it is said that the soul of the deceased remains hovering around about this place four days and that we should partake of food with him for that period. It is for that reason that we act in this way. And it is good that this many of you have come here and have helped us out with food and dress.

He then mentioned the things that had been given by different individuals. Then he lit a pipe and took a few puffs and sent it around to all the others in the lodge. Then a pitcher of water was passed around from which we all took a sip.

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764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep, and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her, as well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say although it may sound so—namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother.

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as [431] J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all.

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as nomaxi(ni)zi(ni)) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the [775] journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may

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768 the midst of her tears, of the one she is going to marry next. The people will then tell one another not to put themselves out too much as the widow will soon forget her mourning and show no respect to the memory of the dead, but instead look after her own pleasures.

Funeral Customs of the Buffalo Clan

764 184 614 539 Told by a member of the clan.* If a Buffalo clan man dies some members of his clan who are called upon would speak as follows:

To-day when you ceased to breathe we were aware of it. Therefore relatives who are present, I greet you. Here my brother's life has ended, and for the last time I will talk to him about the road he is to take.

Ha'ho, my brother, the place at which we originated was called Bad Lake. There were four buffaloes there and from the youngest one are we descended. They lived holy lives, and we hope you will walk in their path. That you may strike everything (you meet on your journey) you must take along with you a war club. You shall walk armed with sharp teeth: and it will be impossible for bad spirits to walk back and forth across your path. And your sight shall be holy as you walk.

Then the speaker painted the face of the deceased. On the right side of his forehead he painted a rainbow with blue and red paint. After that he sang the clan songs. When he was through singing, a member of the Water-spirit clan spoke as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. When one of you passes away and you ask me to work, I am always willing to be of service. And I shall do it all the more willingly now because I am certain that I shall obtain some of the years that the deceased left "unlived." I do it with that belief, and furthermore I pray that no bad animals abuse the deceased on his journey. It is said that one cheers the soul of the dead in thinking thus. Therefore I do it and also that I myself may be strengthened thereby. I came back willingly when I was asked to work and I am doing this so that no bad animals should abuse the soul of the deceased.

Then one of the callers would talk to the mourners, saying as follows:

Relatives, I greet you. To-day one of your relatives has disappeared. You must, however, keep up your courage and not cry, for Earthmaker above has ordained that we should disappear. If a piece of earth caves in, it disappears, and when a rock crumbles it is disappearing. Thus, it is said, it must be.

Origin Myth of the Four Nights' Wake

539 765 Two friends went out to cut arrow-sticks, and were surprised by a war party and killed. When they were shot they thought they had stumbled and went right on (in the spirit). After the enemy had killed the first one they chased the second one and killed him, and so their bodies lay apart. Then the war party left and the two spirits started to follow them. Soon they came to where their bodies were lying. Then they said, "Let us follow the enemy a little." Soon they caught up to the war party and one of the spirits pushed one of the

* This account is quite fragmentary and was obtained in connection with the clan myth. It is given here on account of the speeches.

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men on the back of his head. He immediately became paralyzed from the touch. Then they pushed another man and he could not walk. So they laughed and turned back in order to return to their home.

They had not yet learned that they were dead. One went to his camp and told his wife that he was hungry but she paid no attention to him. The other had the same experience. Then each man started to go to the other man's lodge and they met midway. The first man said, "I came back hungry and asked for food, but they would not give me any, so I thought that I would go to your place." The second one said the same thing. Then they said, "Let us lie down a while." Just then the people began to cry, for they had brought back the bodies of the two dead men. Then one of the men said, "My friend, we have been killed." The other one began to cry.

So the people gathered together and had a meal. One of the ghosts said, "We must try and get something from the meal that they are having, for the people said, 'We are giving this meal in honor of the departed.'" Then the other friend said, "Now we are going to eat, for they are cooking for us."

These two were born again and told about this, and that is how we know it. This is the origin of the Four Nights' Wake. It is claimed that the spirits of the spirit land have a four nights' feast before they start.

Grave-post Marks

(Drawings by Indians)

(Fig. 28)

Warrior has been on the warpath (homani'na).
Warrior was a leader of a warpath (sak'i').
Warrior was a helper on a warpath (wagixô'na) (rek'i').
Warrior counted one of the three coup (wa'ngonank).
Warrior had made a captive (wangîni).
Warrior had killed a horse on the warpath or stolen one from the enemy.
If a person had killed a man and cut off his head, he is allowed to paint the top (upper part!) of the grave-post red.

Fig. 28.—Grave-post marks: 1, Has been on the warpath; 2, has been leader on warpath; 3, has been helper on warpath; 4, has counted one of the coup; 5, has made a captive; 6, has killed horse on warpath or stolen one from enemy; 7, has killed a man and cut off his head.

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manegi divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi* man had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *manegi* division, the *waŋgeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waŋgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waŋgeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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Arold Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [194]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [533]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°zakirutega; ka-iwakitca°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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008
614 the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is
●764 the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another
[765 informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and
302] red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the
[761] chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

614
[796 There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to
264] laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu°pe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

614
796 When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say
755 "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

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their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home.

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time."

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

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614 Members of the clan were buried by members of the Thunderbird
[764] clan.

[823 Water was sacred to the Water-spirits. It was considered an
576] insult for a stranger to peep into a pail standing in one of their lodges.
One informant explained the custom as follows:

"If one enters a Water-spirit clan lodge and looks into a pail and there should be no water in it, the person will turn away and this action of his will be construed as begging. It would be proper to take a drink of water if some were there."

[302] A round spot is painted with blue clay on the forehead of a Water-spirit man (pl. 46).

The Water-spirit feast is held in the fall and spring. Cracked or ground corn is used. Water-spirit people partake before anyone else at this feast.

ORIGIN MYTH

(TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 In the beginning, when the clans began to form, the Bird clans came upon the earth first and alit upon an oak tree at Red Banks; and when they alit upon the oak tree they became human as we are now. Then the Water-spirit clan was to appear at Within Lake; and the waters began to whirl around in the lake and all the bad things that inhabited the waters began to appear. Just before the Water-spirits appeared some burned embers came up from the waters and the whirling became faster and deeper. As all the great things began to appear it always seemed as if the Water-spirits were the next to appear, but not until the last did they come up. Thereupon the waters began to quiet down. Then a white Water-spirit appeared with its horns curved toward each other, and when it came upon the earth it became human and walked. Then the other clans said, "Now, then, this is the chief. This is all that we have been waiting for. Now we shall divide ourselves" (into groups). Then they started for the lodge of the Thunderbird clan and entered it. There they named one another and divided one another into clans and there they counciled with one another.

CLAN NAMES

WAKUKXI HE'IK'ARAIJERA (WATER-SPIRIT CLAN)

614 551
Ho-adaja°jank'a.....Shining horns.
Hena°pga.....Two horns.
Hop'i°winga.....Handsome horn.
Hoatcank'a.....Five-horned.
Hadjopga.....Four-horned.
Mank'a°ojuga.....He who plants medicines.
Mank'a°hodja°pga.....He who looks at medicines.
Ma°i°nanp'i°winga.....Good cold spring.

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Ma°jiwinga.....Yellowish-red earth (refers to deposits from iron springs).
Ma°nunp'aga.....Second earth person.
Ni-acgadjewinga.....She who plays on the water.
Ni amanîwinga.....She who walks on the water.
Ni-a°p'°°winga.....She who makes water good.
Ni-a°ciagewinga.....Still water.
Niranaga.....Stream person.
Nihuga.....He who discharges water.
Ni-ot'a°pwinga.....She who jumps into the water.
Nidjobega.....Four streams.
Niwak'itcanga.....Selects (?) water.
Wakdjexicicik'a.....Bad Water-spirit.
Wakdjexihunga.....Chief of the Water-spirits.
Wakdjeximaniga.....Walking Water-spirit.
Wakdjexip'inga.....Good Water-spirit.
Wakdjexis°winga.....White Water-spirit.
Hop'inga.....Good horn.
Wadjxedega.....Big boat.
Hip'ahiga.....Sharp tooth.
Rabawinga.....Beaverskin woman.
Rabewinga.....Beaver.
Hejipga.....Short horn.

The Buffalo Clan

INTRODUCTION

The first version of the origin myth of the Buffalo clan is of considerable interest because it gives us an idea of the manner in which a myth had to be bought. It is one of the few origin myths that gives a precise location for the origin of a particular clan. What lake is meant by *de cicik* it is impossible to say. Considerable importance should be attached, however, to the fact that their place of origin differed from that of most of the other clans, because it may indicate that the people who came to be known under the name Buffalo joined the tribe after the other clans.

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The Buffalo clansmen seem to have had the function of acting as the public criers and in general of being an intermediary between the chief and the tribe. This, however, has been denied by some informants, one of them a member of the clan. Their lodge was at the southeast corner of the village. Some informants deny that they had a special lodge, however.

[624
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[361]

The Buffalo and Water-spirit clans are friends and are supposed to bury each other's members.

[764]

ORIGIN MYTH[1]

Informant, member of the clan: "Listen, my grandson. Those who originated from the buffaloes and the way in which they origi-

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[1] The following myth is given in the precise manner in which the individual who told it to me obtained the information from one of the old men who was privileged to narrate it. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any other clan origin myth in the same way.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de cicik*).* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements.

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work."

CLAN SONGS

Song 1

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

Song 2

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

Song 3

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it.

* This name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis.

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair*, *Fast-one*, *Little-white-teeth*, *Diffident-one*, *Horn*, *Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck.

CLAN SONG.

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIE'IE'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

Tcaxephûnk'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagizena'pi'ga.....Wears shells around neck.
Tcanûnka'pi'winga.....Deer vagina.
Mank'imgayega.....Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatconiwiga.....First deer woman.

The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth.

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one.

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference.

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46).

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A. PEYOTE LEADERS

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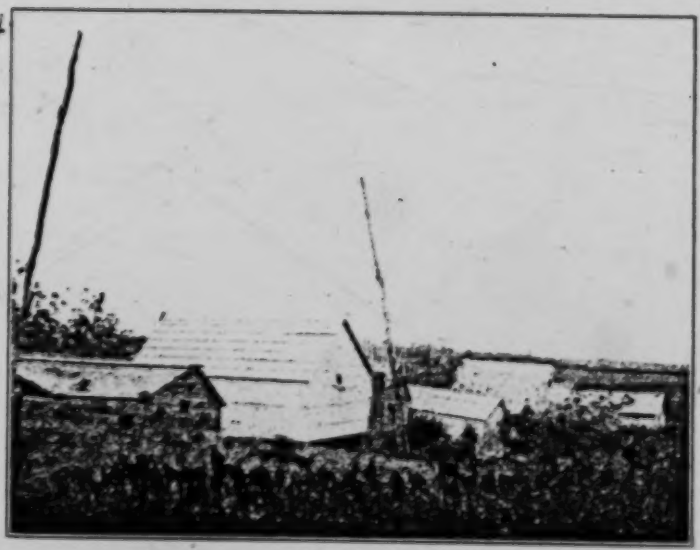

B. BURIAL HUTS

[Facing p. 388]

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 614 616 825 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 616 [582] [764] The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi* man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function exercised by these divisions was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąŋegi* division, the *waŋgeregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąŋegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waŋgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąŋegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąŋegi* buried the *waŋgeregi*.

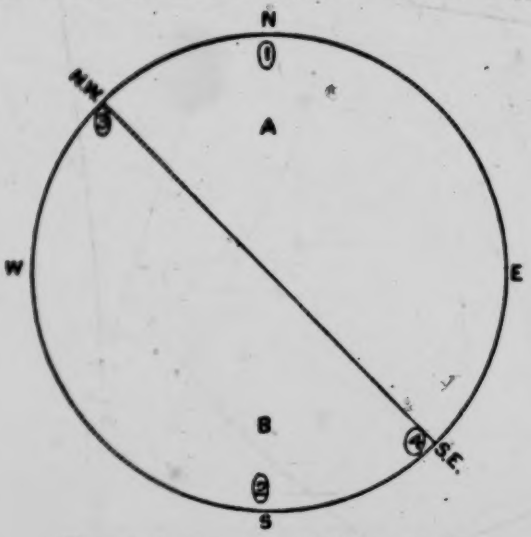

Figure 1. A, *Mąŋegi* side; B, *Waŋgeregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

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Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now.

The Clan Marks of Identification.

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmątcɛ*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxɛnixɛni*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxɛnixɛni* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender,

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 1175 a matter of fact only thought of it yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go but you must ask our chief first." Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge upon the people who killed your relatives."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb but I was taken into a room. There I remained conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I was going through a door but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck by a sudden gust of cold air and I began to cry.

At the place where I was brought up I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war and I certainly took my revenge for my own death and that of my relatives, thus justifying the purpose for which I had come to this earth again.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in and I died a second time. I felt no more pain at death then that I had felt the first time.

●[964] This time I was buried in the manner used then. I was wrapped in a blanket and laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the land of the setting sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but, in reality, I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves here. They have all sorts of

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Crashing Thunder

After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

[11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

§13. *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

My grandfather was buried in the manner customary in the Thunderbird clan. His relatives got some one to bury him and the chief mourner invited a distinguished person to talk to the corpse before it was dressed for burial. The person addressed the body as follows:

159* 764 ● [767]

You are about to leave your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You must proceed on your road and turn to your left after you start. Continue until you come to the one who is in charge of spirits. When you see him, make the following request—that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in this world. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you to take along. As you go along you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right for that leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will wear a complete suit of clothes and he will be terrible to look upon. He will smoke with you and you must address him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left earth the people told me to ask you to point out which road I was to travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and come after a while to a fire on both sides of the earth. The man in charge of it will wear a complete suit of clothes

159* 764 775 537

*159 ● 764 775 530 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

[776]

*159 764 [767] [301] [767] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket.

When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

back for home they were told under no circumstances to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 159* 764 ●

As soon as they returned home the man in charge of the funeral arrangements went around the village and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men and warriors are especially welcome. 159* 765

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any. 159* 765 537 539

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us. [152]

796 575 158 out design. There he lay without motion or sign of life, and the dance was resumed around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 575 789 They told the Judge before they admitted him to this ceremony that while he was there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to

[841] [843] [273] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the menstrual period, no woman pregnant or recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings

[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.

796 575 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the evening and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies

[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The

[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, except a small hole or chimney was kept open

[775] from the top down into the house. When

[P. 60 (C)]

764 775 the Judge asked what this meant they told him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says 776 171 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described 796 575 by Judge Williams are in the presence only of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its proceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure. [755]

796 575 828 158 Walker says that these ceremonies proceed upon the idea that a violent shock of the nervous system, which prostrates it entirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P61(A)]